

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

NEA-10 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OMB-01 EB-11 IO-14 SSO-00

NSCE-00 INRE-00 DRC-01 /123 W
----- 002502

O R 181847Z MAR 74

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7622

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR GR

SUBJECT: CHICAGO SPEECH AND FRENCH PRESS

SUMMARY: THOUGH SEASONED OCCASIONALLY WITH SUCH VISCERAL
REFLEXES AS "ULTIMATUM" OR "BRUTAL" OR "BLACKMAIL", SUBSTANTIVE
RESPONSE BY FRENCH PRESS TO CHICAGO SPEECH WAS GENERALLY MODERATE
AND THOUGHTFUL. RUNNING THROUGH COMMENTARY IS DOUBT THAT U.S.
REALLY WISHES DAMAGE ITS OWN SECURITY INTERESTS IN EUROPE DES-
PITE QUARRELS IN OTHER FIELDS. PRESIDENT'S WORDS, IN VIEW OF SOME
WRITERS, REPRESENTED NOTHING NEW AND SHOULD COME AS NO SURPRISE.
ONE OR TWO COMMENTATIORS SUGGESTED THAT WATERGATE AND NEED TO
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DIVERT CONGRESS UNDERLAY THE CHICAGO REMARKS, AND ANOTHER CALLED

FOR AN END TO PUBLIC DISPUTES WHILE POINTING TO THE "REALITY" THAT
GOOD U.S. - EUROPEAN RELATIONS ARE A CONDITION FOR PEACE. END
SUMMARY.

1. ACCORDING TO LE MONDE, THE "TEST OF STRENGTH" BETWEEN U.S.
AND EUROPE HAS BEGUN. PRESIDENT'S WARNING WAS "FORMAL, AND
WITHOUT APPEAL BECAUSE IT WAS MADE BY THE HIGHEST AUTHORITY IN THE
U.S. ". THIS "CONFRONTATION" CAN END ONLY WHEN ONE SIDE IS BEATEN
--EITHER EUROPE GIVES IN AND LINES UP WITH U.S. ON ALL ISSUES OF
WORLD IMPORTANCE, OR PRESIDENT ABANDONS HIS THREAT SUBSTANTIALLY
TO REDUCE U.S. FORCES IN EUROPE. FOR LE MONDE, THAT IS THE
REAL CHOICE AVAILABLE -- "ONE WHICH IT IS DIFFICULT NOT TO CALL BLACK-
MAIL".

2. BUT IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN TO BE SEEN HOW FAR PRESIDNT WILL GO
IN CARRYING OUT HIS THREATS, PAPER SAID, NOTING THAT HE TOOK SOME
PRECAUTIONS IN THE SPEECH. "HE DID NOT SAY AMERICAN TROOPS WOULD
BE EVACUATED WHOLESAL FROM EUROPE. HE SIMPLY DOUBTED THE WOULD
BE ABLE TO MAINTAIN THEM AT A SUFFICIENT LEVEL." LE MONDE
WONDERED WHETHER U.S. "COULD JEOPARDIZE ITS OWN INTERESTS, ITS
OWN SECURITY, JUST TO PUNISH EUROPE".

3. GAULLIST LA NATION ADVANCED THE SAME THOUGHT. "IT IS LIKELY
THAT, DESPITE MR. NIXON'S BRUTAL STATEMENTS, THE UNITED STATES
CANNOT PULL ALL ITS FORCES OUT OF EUROPE, WHICH IS -WHETHER THE
U.S. LIKES IT OR NOT - THE FRONT LINE OF ITS OWN DEFENSE". THE
NEWSPAPER WARNED EUROPEANS, HOWEVER, TO EXPECT WASHINGTON
TO CUT ITS TROOPS DOWN TO A "SIMPLE SYMBOLIC FIGURE WHICH WILL,
AS MR. JOBERT HAS EMPHASIZED MANY TIMES, BRINGUP THE QUESTION
OF A EUROPEAN DEFENSE".

4. LA NATION MUSED ABOUT THE MOTIVATIONS BEHIND PRESIDENT'S
"ULTIMATUM", ASKING WHETHER IT ISN'T DUE "MORE TO THE QUESTION OF
PERSONAL PRESTIGE AS WATERGATE BECOMES A HYDRA, ALL OF WHOSE
HEADS (THE PRESIDENT) HASN'T MANAGED TO CUT OFF". PRESIDENT'S
NEED TO REINFORCE HIS CONTROL, SAID LA NATION, "PROBABLY LED HIM
TO DRAMATIZE THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION IN THE HOPE OF DIVERTING THE
TENACIOUSNESS OF CONGRESS".

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5. ALONG SAME LINES, STATE-OWNED RADIO FRANCE INTER "REMINDED
LISTENERS THAT PRESIDENT'S SITUATION IS WEAKENED BY WATERGATE AND
HIS VERY FATE RESTS WITH THE CONGRESS." AT SAME TIME, CONGRESS
WISHES TO REDUCE OR ELIMINATE U.S. TROOP PRESENCE IN EUROPE.
FOR SEVERAL WEEKS, PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY OF STATE HAVE PICTURED
EEC AS A "HOSTILE GROUPING, A TRUE CHALLENGE TO THE U.S." THUS,
SAID THE RADIO, PRESIDENT'S ACTION GOES IN SAME DIRECTION AS
CONGRESSIONAL SENTIMENT -- "IN OTHER WORDS, EUROPEAN UNITY IS IN

DANGER OF BEING SACRIFICED TO THE PLUMBERS OF WATERGATE".

6. LE MONDE, IN SAME EDITORIAL MENTIONED EARLIER, ALSO REFERRED TO WATERGATE IN OBSERVING THAT CURRENT CRISIS WILL BE WON BY "HE WHO HAS THE BEST NERVES". UNFORTUNATELY, SAID THE NEWSPAPER, EUROPE IS IN THE MIDST OF A PERIOD OF WEAKNESS. "BUT TONE OF MR. NIXON, MORE THREATENED THAN EVER ON THE INTERNAL FRONT, MAKES ONE THINK THAT HE, TOO, IS NO LONGER MASTER OF HIMSELF."

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NSCE-00 INRE-00 DRC-01 /123 W

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FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7623

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

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7. FIGARO'S WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT, JACQUES JACQUET-FRANCILLION, CABLED THAT PRESIDENT'S CHICAGO STATEMENT SHOULD COME AS NO SURPRISE. HE HAS MADE SUCH STATEMENTS BEFORE AND THIS TIME "DID NOT NEED TO SOFTEN HIS WORDS SINCE HE WAS SPEAKING BEFORE

AMERICAN BUSINESSMEN WHO HAVE NO REASON TO FEEL ANY SPECIAL LOVE FOR THEIR EUROPEAN COMPETITORS. AND A POLITICIAN SELDOM RESISTS THE TEMPTATION TO PLEASE HIS AUDIENCE. BUT MR. NIXON DELIBERATELY CONTRADICTED HIMSELF. HE WHO USED TO REMIND THE DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION THAT U.S. TROOPS IN EUROPE WERE THERE TO DEFEND U.S. INTERESTS IN NOW THREATENING TO PULL THEM OUT", ADDED JACQUET-FRANCILLON." WHY THE ABOUT-FACE?. M. NIXON IS MERELY DRAWING THE LOGICAL CONCLUSIONS OF A COOL ANALYSIS OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION..BUT EVERY GOOD GAMBLER KNOWS THAT, TO WIN BIG, YOU MUST RISK LOSING. THE GAME HAS JUST BEGUN. THE MOMENT TO PICK UP THE WINNINGS HAS NOT YET COME. MICHEL JOBERT MAY STILL HAVE AN ACE UP HIS SLEEVE."

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TUATION..BUT EVERY GOOD GAMBLER KNOWS THAT, TO WIN BIG, YOU MUST RISK LOSING. THE GAME HAS JUST BEGUN. THE MOMENT TO PICK UP THE WINNINGS HAS NOT YET COME. MICHEL JOBERT MAY STILL HAVE AN ACE UP HIS SLEEVE."

8. JACQUET-FRANCILLON'S FIGARO COLLEAGUE, FOREIGN EDITOR ROGER MASSIP, WROTE THAT, "IN THE EYES OF THE AMERICAN LEADERS, THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY SHOULD LIE WITHIN AN ATLANTIC COMMUNITY OF WHICH IT (THE EEC) WOULD BE A DEPENDENCY. LET'S BE CAREFUL NOT TO ATTRIBUTE TO THE CURRENT U.S. PRESIDENT THE PATERNITY OF THIS PARTICULAR CONCEPT OF U.S. - EUROPEAN RELATIONS. ONE CAN GO BACK TO THE JULY 4, 1962 PHILADELPHIA SPEECH OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY, WHO PROPOSED ESTABLISHMENT OF AN ASSOCIATION BETWEEN EUROPE AND AMERICA "ON A FOOTING OF EQUALITY"...JOHN KENNEDY WAS NO MORE ANXIOUS THAN RICHARD NIXON FOR THE EEC TO BECOME AN EXCLUSIVE CLUB WITH LIMITED MEMBERSHIP, I.E., A RIVAL."

9. JOBERT, MASSIP CONTINUED, IN A SPEECH SUNDAY, "WAS TEMPERED, CALM, AND CAREFUL NOT TO FOLLOW PRESIDENT NIXON ONTO THE FIELD OF POLEMICS...WE MUST HOPE THAT THE DEBATE BEGUN BY PRESIDENT NIXON WILL REMAIN WITHIN REASONABLE LIMITS. THE PUBLIC DISPUTES HAVE CONTINUED TOO LONG...COOPERATION BETWEEN U.S. AND EUROPE IS ONE OF THE FACTORS OF EQUILIBRIUM IN THE WORLD, AND IT WOULD BE INCONCEIVABLE THAT IT COULD NOT BE ORGANIZED IN SUCH A WAY AS TO AVOID THE SUBORDINATION WHICH EUROPEANS DO NOT WANT. MR. NIXON'S SPEECH, LIKE THE POLEMICS BETWEEN KISSINGER AND JOBERT...SHOULD BE CONSIDERED AS ONE OF THE UPS AND DOWNS, AND FORGOTTEN WITHOUT DELAY. THE PRESENCE OF U.S. TROOPS (IN EUROPE) IS INDISPENSABLE TO THE U.S. AS WELL AS TO EUROPE. GOOD RELATIONS BETWEEN THE COMMUNITY AND AMERICA IS A CONDITION FOR PEACE. THAT IS THE REALITY".

10. IN CONVERSATION WITH PRESS ATTACHE, CHIEF ECONOMIC WRITER GABRIEL FARKAS, OF PRO-GOVERNMENT FRANCE SOIR MADE CLEAR HIS VIEW THAT, FOR GOF, CHICAGO SPEECH REPRESENTS "LIMITS" BEYOND WHICH TRANSATLANTIC QUARELLING CANNOT BE CARRIED"WITHOUT BREAKING SOMETHING VERY IMPORTANT". MODERATE REACTION OF FRENCH PRESS, HE SAID, AND "EXTREMELY PRUDENT" RESPONSE BY JOBERT REFLECT THIS FEELING. HE DESCRIBED FRENCH FOREIGN POLICY AS ENDEAVORING, THROUGH MAINTENANCE OF CERTAIN PERMANENT "TENSION" BETWEEN U.S. AND EUROPE, TO AID PROCESS OF EUROPEAN UNITY. THIS

POLICY OF "WORDS AND GESTURES", FARKAS SAID, CAN ONLY
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BE EFFECTIVE -- IF IT IS EFFECTIVE AT ALL-- WITHIN
LIMITS AS DESCRIBED ABOVE.

11. ON MARCH 18 QUAI AMERICAS' DIRECTOR DE SAINT-
LEGIER TOLD POLCOUNS IT WAS HIS IMPRESION THAT GOF
WISHED TO AVOID RESPONDING PUBLICLY TO CHICAGO SPEECH.
NOTING THAT NO OFFICIAL GOF STATEMENT HAD BEEN ISSUED
-- OTHER THAN NON-OFFICIAL, INDIRECT REFERENCE BY
JOBERT AT UDR DEPUTIES' MEETING MARCH 17 -- SAINT
LEGIER SAID HE BELIEVED QUAI AND ELYSEE WOULD MAKE
STUDIOUS EFFORT NOT TO EXACERBATE FURTHER THE PUBLIC
TRANSATLANTIC "QUARREL".
STONE

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